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URBAN INDIANS IN THE LABOUR MARKET*

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Success or failure in the labour market is a crucial determinant of any minority group's ability to gain respect and recognition in the dominant society. The level of income from employment, the primary measure of success or failure in the labour market in the absence of property income, depends upon the type of job an individual obtains and the stability of employment. This paper will explore the labour market activities of "status" or "registered" Indians who live off reserves in British Columbia.[1]

The paper is divided into five major sections. In the first, we will describe some important characteristics of the urban Indian population in B.C. which are particularly relevant to their activities in the labour market. Section II will present evidence on the degree to which Indians have been successful in the labour market. We will look at their levels of income, ability to be self-supporting and their unemployment and labour force participation rates. The third section will be devoted to an analysis of the occupational distribution of the Indian labour force and how it has changed over time. Section IV describes the methods of finding jobs used by urban Indians and by the entire labour force. The final section will present some implications for manpower policy of urban Indians in the labour market.

I. Some Important Characteristics of Urban Indians in British Columbia

(a) A Young and Rapidly Growing Population[2]

Status Indians account for 1.1% of the nation's population and 2.3% of British Columbia's population. When non-status Indians are included, Native people represent almost 5% of the total population of the province.[3] Between 1944 and 1972 the status Indian population of B.C. almost doubled, increasing at an average annual rate of 2.45% compared with the rate of 2.24% for the total Canadian population. The causes of the growth of the Indian and non-Indian populations were quite different. All of the increase in the Indian population was due to natural increase (the number of births minus the number of deaths). A large component of the increase

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in the total population was accounted for by immigration rathe than the rate of natural increase. In the decade of the 1960' the rate of natural increase for B.C. Indians declined from thirty-five to twenty-seven per 1,000, while that for the enti province fell from 15.8 to 9.3 per 1,000. In 1970, therefore, the rate of natural increase of B.C. Indians was three times that of non-Indians.

The most important result of the sustained high rates of natural increase of the Indian population is that 45% of the Indian people in 1971 were under the age of fifteen and 30% were under ten. The percentages for the province were 28% and 18% respectively. The age distribution of the off-reserve population is only a little different from that on reserve; the proportion under the age of fifteen is less than one percentage point apart. There is, however, a higher proportion of people of fifty and over living on reserve (11.3%) than off reserve (7.0%). In every age group within the range fifteen to sixty-four, the proportion of women off reserve is slightly greater than that of men.

The second most important result of sustained high rates of natural increase is the large size of most Indian families. The 1971 Census indicated that rural Indian women (primarily on reserve) aged fifteen and over who had ever married had born an average of 4.7 children each, compared with 2.7 for non-Indian rural women. Urban Indian women averaged 3.6 children in contrast to 2.3 for non-Indian women. Almost two-fifths of the rural Indian women had borne six or more children. Thirty-one per cent of the rural Indian women of fifty-five and over had borne nine or more children.

(b) A Rising Off-Reserve Population[4]

Between 1965 and 1972 the percentage of status Indians living off reserves in Canada increased from 25.6% to 36.3%. The proportion of B.C. Indians living off reserve increased

from 14.2% in 1962 to 34.6% in 1972. In absolute terms, the size of the on-reserve population in B.C. has remained virtually constant since 1962. For each of the five major cultural/ linguistic groups within the province, the proportion living off reserve has increased.

Our sample of 1,095 off-reserve residents, amounting to a one-in-six sample of the B.C. off-reserve population aged fifteen to sixty-five, collected in the summer of 1971,[5] indicated that one-third had spent less than two-fifths of their lives on reserve. Forty-four per cent of our sample had spent more than three-fifths of their lives on reserve. Almost 14% of the members of our sample were born to parents living off reserve.

In response to the question "Why do you live off the reserve?" employment was the single most important reason. Thirty-five per cent of the men and 19.7% of the women gave this response. Forty-two per cent of men aged twenty-five to forty-nine and 45.8% of those currently employed lived off reserve because there were no jobs on reserve or because the distance to their job was too great to permit them to live on a reserve. In finding that "economic necessity" was the single most important reason, our results are similar to those of other studies of Indians in urban centres.

(c) Mobility[6]

On average, the people we interviewed had been living in the town in which we interviewed them for six years. One-third, however, had been residents for less than one year, and one-half had lived there for three years or more. The length of residence in the town of interview increased significantly with age.

Members of our sample had lived in an average of 6.2 places off reserve (for at least one month) inside or outside of B.C. and an average of 4.4 different cities or towns within B.C. With an average age of thirty-two, these data would suggest that B.C. Indians are a relatively mobile population. U multiple regression analysis, we found that the mobility of B.C. Indians living off reserves was statistically significantl greater for men, for those who are better educated, for those who are older, and for those who were in prison compared with Vancouver residents. Mobility was inversely related to the proportion of life spent on reserve, the number of months in the current town of residence, and the number of months since the individual had lived on reserve for one month or more. Residents of all regions (excluding those in prison) experience lower mobility than Vancouver residents.

(d) Closing the Education Gap[7]

Perhaps the most outstanding evidence of the progress of the Indian people in the province is the rise in their level of educational attainment over the past three decades. We found a strong inverse correlation (0.53) between age and education (the highest grade completed). For those aged fifty-five to sixty-four in our sample of off-reserve residents the median number of grades completed was 4.1. For those aged twenty to twenty-four, the median was 9.9 grades completed. A sample of B.C. Indians (most of whom were living on reserves) collected in 1954 indicated that the median level of education for those aged forty-six and over was only 1.3 grades and that for those aged fifteen to twenty-five it was 6.5 grades. Forty-eight per cent of our 1971 sample had at least a secondary schoo education, whereas the 1961 Census showed that only 19.0% of

Even when we account for the fact that the median age of the Indian population is only 16.4 years, compared with 27 for the total population, the median age at death of non-Indians is almost 20 years greater than it is for status Indians. Infant mortality among B.C. Indians in the early 1970's is one-third of the rate it was in the late 1930's, but it was still three times the rate for non-Indians in 1971 and 1972, despite the fact that 96% of the later Indian births occurred in hospitals or nursing stations.

Per capita, Indians (on and off reserve) use twice as many patient days of hospital care as do non-Indians. The people in our off-reserve sample between the ages of fifteen and fifty-nine reported almost 3.5 times as many days in hospital per capita as did non-Indians in 1971.

In fourteen of the seventeen major diagnostic classes, the rate of hospitalization in cases per 100,000 population in 1972 for Indians was greater than that for non-Indians. In five of the diagnostic classes, the rate for Indians was more than three times the rate for non-Indians. In thirteen of the seventeen diagnostic classes, the average length of stay of Indians exceeded that of non-Indians.

Success and Failure in the Labour Market: The Evidence

(a) Level of Income and the Ability to be Self-supporting[9]

We sought to determine the capacity of Indians living off reserves to be self-supporting, that is not in receipt of financial assistance from friends or from the government in the form of social assistance for the two-and-one-half-year period before the interviews in the summer of 1971. We found

that 28% of the sample had not been self-supporting for even one month in the thirty-month period, but 24% had been self-supporting for the entire period. Just under one-half of the members of the sample (48%) had been self-supporting for at least one-half of the two-and-one-half-year period.

A set of regression equations seeking to identify the va tistically associated with the ability of men to be self-supporting found that the following variables had positive coefficients a were statistically significant: age in the twenty-five to fo nine-year range compared with men of sixteen to twenty-four; high school graduates compared with those with four or fewer grades completed (in only one equation); the presence of a wi in the labour market; union membership; all current occupations, except those in managerial/professional/technical occupations; individual perception of the job situation as good; the Tsimshian/Haida cultural/linguistic group compared with t reference group (Interior Salish).

In terms of their income from employment in 1970, 54% of our sample of off-reserve residents (families and unattached individuals) had incomes of less than $2,000. In contrast, on 26% of all B.C. individuals had incomes of less than $2,000 i 1971. Over one-third of those in our sample had no income fr employment in 1970. At the other end of the spectrum, only o eighth of the families and unattached individuals had incomes of $8,000 or more in 1970, compared with one-third of all B.C individuals in 1971.

Using the definitions of the Special Senate Committee on Poverty, we estimated that 67.5% of the families and individua in our sample were below the poverty line in terms of their incomes from employment in 1970./ When government transfer payments we taken into account, the proportion was still 62.8%, or two and one-half times that for the country as a whole. It is apparen that government transfer schemes (family allowances, old age

pensions, and social assistance payments) simply do not fill the poverty gap.

In terms of total income, two-fifths of the families of two or more in our sample had incomes under $4,000 in 1970. Only one-sixth of all B.C. families were in this income class in 1969. Just over 19% of our sample had total incomes of $8,000 or more in contrast to some 55.8% of all B.C. families of two or more. While the data we have assembled indicate that Indian incomes in B.C. have improved sharply over the past decade, even relative to the rise in the incomes of non-Indians, Indians in B.C. have barely begun to enjoy a taste of the "affluent society".

(b) Unemployment and Labour Force Participation Rates

(i) Counting the Unemployed - The Significance of the Methodology

The methodology used in the official estimates of unemployment and labour force participation rates is of particular significance in estimating the unemployment and labour force participation rates of Indians and other disadvantaged groups. As we shall see below, if we utilize the narrower official definition, the unemployment rate (participation rate) among B.C. Indians living off reserve in the summer of 1971 is 26.9% (51.1%). However, if we employ a broader measure the unemployment rate (participation rate) is estimated to be 46.5% (69.7%). The reason for the disparity is the treatment accorded "discouraged workers" in estimating unemployment and labour force participation rates.[10]

We define discouraged workers as those who are with

work, but are not actively seeking work because of prolonged periods of unemployment and the futile search for suitable employment they have experienced. These workers would have actively entered the labour market if suitable job opportunities were available. The result is that discouraged workers are not included in estimates of the labour force and consequently the official unemployment and labour force participation rates understate the "true" rates.

In theory, persons who are without work, but who are not actively seeking it because they believed no suitable work was available in the community, are to be counted as unemployed. The Monthly Labour Force Survey defines the unemployed as all persons who "through the reference week:

(a) were without work and seeking work, i.e., did no work during the reference week and were looking for work; or would have been looking for work except that they were temporarily ill, were on indefinite or prolonged layoff, or believed no suitable work was available in the community; or
(b) were temporarily laid off for the full week, i.e., were waiting to be called back to a job from which they had been laid off for less than 30 days. [11]

The heart of the matter is what is meant by the phrase "believed no suitable work was available in the community". How does one arrive at the belief that no suitable work was available? How many times must an individual try to obtain work to qualify for this state and hence be counted among the officially unemployed? Ostry and Zaidi point out:

> If such a person volunteers that he would have sought work except for certain conditions, he is classified as unemployed and in the labour force. If he does not volunteer that information, he is classified as 'voluntarily idle' and therefore outside the labour force. Inclusion or exclusion of the inactive (job) seeker thus rests on volunteered and essentially subjective information. [12]

It is our contention that Indians, and members of other minority/disadvantaged groups, who have marginal job skills and who have almost certainly experienced discrimination will be

found to be without work and yet not counted as unemployed in the official statistics because of the difficulty of showing they were not seeking work because they "believed no suitable work was available in the community".

Data to measure unemployment and participation rates were derived by first asking each respondent "Are you working now?" If the answer was affirmative we then ascertained if the work was of a full-time or part-time nature. If the reply was negative, respondents were asked supplementary questions and then classified using the following categories: housewife, student, permanently disabled, retired, other, e.g., travelling and unemployed. Persons in the first five categories were defined to be "out of the labour force." Persons indicated as "unemployed" were then asked if they were looking for work. Some 57% of those indicated as "unemployed" were "not looking for work". Should such persons be counted as unemployed or not in the labour force in making estimates of unemployment and participation rates? A close reading reveals that a person can be counted as "unemployed" in the Monthly Labour Force Survey and <u>not</u> be seeking work if he falls into one of three categories:

(a) If he was without work and "would have been looking for work except that he was temporarily ill"

(b) If he was without work and would have been seeking work except that he was "on indefinite or prolonged lay off"

(c) If he was without work and would have been seeking work except that he "believed no suitable work was available in the community"

Indication that the Indians in our sample who were unemployed, but stated they were not looking for work are probably "discouraged workers", can be ascertained from the following facts:

- Only 30% of those without work for two months or less were not looking for work but 45% of those out of work for three to four months and 59% of those out of work for five to nine months were not looking for work.
- Only 40% of those 16-24 years of age who were without work were not looking for work but 86% of those 45-64 who were unemployed were not looking for work.
- Of those who had completed Grade 10 or better and were unemployed 40% were not looking for work but 71% of unemployed persons with Grade 6 or less were not looking for work.

To deal with the problem of discouraged workers, we defined two measures of unemployment among persons in our sample. The broader definition U1 is equal to the sum of persons unemployed and indicating that they are looking fo work plus those who are unemployed, but indicated (for what ever reason) that they were not looking for work. The narrower definition, U2, is the number of persons who were unemployed and who stated that they were seeking work. In a parallel fashion two participation rates (P1, P2) were defined. We believe that U1 and P1 are the more appropria measures of the unemployment and labour force participatio rates among B.C. Indians. In this we concur with Peitchen when he argues that "perhaps a more accurate rate of unempl ment would be obtained if account were taken of all those are able and willing to work but are not working, rather t those only who are without work and are looking for work. After all, from an economic standpoint our primary concern with the waste of potential productive manpower."[13]

(ii) Results: Unemployment and Labour Force Participation Rate

The most significant result we obtained from our stud was the very high rate of unemployment among B.C. Indians who lived off reserves in the summer of 1971. Using the br definition U1, the overall unemployment rate (M + F, aged and over) was 46.5%. Using U2, the narrower definition, t

overall unemployment rate was 26.9%. These rates must be compared to rates of 7.1%, 6.2% and 5.4% for the months of June, July and August of 1971 for the total population of B.C.[14] Exact comparisons are not possible as our interviews were collected in June (75), July (527), August (463) and September (30) of 1971. This slight difference in methodology cannot obscure the principal result that unemployment (using the U1 measure) among B.C. Indians living off reserves is at least seven times the B.C. average. More narrowly defined, (U2) it is at least four times the overall B.C. rate. The combined male and female participation rate of B.C. Indians (using the broad measure P1) was 69.7% as compared to 59% for all of B.C. Using P2, the narrower measure, the combined participation rate of B.C. Indians living off reserves in the summer of 1971 was 51.1% or eight percentage points below that of the total B.C. rate.

The unemployment rate among B.C. Indians was highest in the 16-19 age cohort with U1 equal to 59.4% and U2 equal to 45.8%. These rates compare to between 13.9% and 20.7% in the period June to August 1971 for all B.C. males and females in the age cohort 14-19. For Indians in the cohort 20-24 years the unemployment rate was scarcely less: U1 = 50.0%, U2 = 37.8%. This is compared to 5.9 to 8.0% for B.C. as a whole. As with non-Indians the lowest rate of unemployment recorded by B.C. Indians living off reserves was in the age cohort 25-44 years with U1 = 39.4% and U2 = 20.9%. However, U2, the narrower definition, was still about five times the rate of unemployment among the total B.C. population in that age cohort. The greatest discrepancy between the measures of Indian unemployment was recorded in the 45-64 age cohort where U1 = 55.3% and U2 = 15.8%.

It appears that the "discouraged worker" phenomenon is most prevalent in the 45-64 cohort. Reasons for this are not hard to find. The median number of grades of education com-

pleted by Indian males in the age cohort 55-64 was 4.6 and in the cohort 45-54 it was 7.1. For the Indian females in our sample the medians are 3.3 and 6.3 grades respectively. As we pointed out above, older Indians were without work for a longer period - a good number for more than six months. These facts combined with the perceived lack of employment opportunities would make it reasonable that such persons would believe "that no suitable work was available in the community" and cease to be "seeking work".

Using the broader measure P1, Indian participation rates were equal to or above those of B.C. in total with the exception of one age cohort. However, when we use P2, Indian participation rates are significantly below the B.C. total in all age cohorts. For example in the "prime age" cohort 25-44 the Indian participation rate, using P1, is virtually identical with the rate for all of B.C. at 71%. If P2 is used, the Indian rate falls to 54%.

Of the 260 men who were married or living common law, 67 (25.8%) had their spouse in the labour force of whom 59 were employed. In 44 families, both partners were employed during the summer of 1971.

A survey of non-status Indians, also carried out in the summer of 1971, confirm our finding of very high unemployment among native people in B.C. The overall level of unemployment among the non-status sample was 50% and the participation rate was 64%.

Of the 260 men who were married or living common law, 67 (25.8%) had their spouse in the labour force of whom 59 were employed. In 44 families, both partners were employed during the summer of 1971.

What effect did education have on unemployment and labour force participation rates? From our data, it appears that additional education had no effect on (M + F) unemployment rates until high school graduation was achieved. Using U2 unemployment increased slightly from 0-6 grades completed (29.8%) to 7-9 grades completed (32.3%) to 10-11 grades completed (35.7%). However, the unemployment rate of B.C. Indians with Grade 12 or better was sharply lower at 10.5%. Using the U1 definition, unemployment was about 50% for those with 0-11 grades completed, but dropped to 15.8% for those with Grade 12 or better. For males, unemployment was higher among those with Grades 10-11 completed (U2 = 40.7%) than those with a lower level of education. What is most interesting about these results is that apparently the effect of additional education on the unemployment rate has overcome the traditionally higher unemployment rates among the young for we found a strong negative correlation between age and education among our sample of B.C. Indians (see Section I(d) above).

Participation rates increased significantly with the level of education. This result is similar to that reported for the population as a whole.[16] Applying the narrower definition P2, we found that for those with Grade 6 or less completed the participation rate (M + F) was 40.0%, for those with Grades 7-9 completed it was 42.8%, for those with Grades 10-11 it was 56.8% and for Indians with Grade 12 or better, the participation rate was 71.5%. The results are similar for both males and females separately.

(iii) Regression Results: The "Determinants" of Being Employed

By making the obvious division of the labour force into the employed (assigned a value of one) and the unemployed (assigned a value of zero), we can use regression analysis to find which variables "explain" variations in the bivariate dependent variable. The interpretation of the coefficients of the independent variables using this technique is simply the increase in the probability of being employed as opposed to being unemployed. The two equations reported in Table 1 are identical with the exception that cultural/linguistic group was substituted for region in equation two.[17] Both equations are a result of some experimentation with respect to the form in which the independent variables were entered into the equation. In particular, we began by incorporating both age and education as a set of dummy variables. Since only statistically significant relationship in the case of education was between those who had completed high school and those who had not, we entered education in this form in equations one and two. In the case of age, none of the cohort was statistically different from the "omitted" or reference level 15-24 years so age was entered as a continuous variable rather than as a set of dummy variables in equations one and two.

The coefficients of the independent or explanatory variab in the two equations are very similar and both equations "expl about 45% of the total variation in the dependent variable

Table 1

Regression Results: Employed/Unemployed as the Dependent Variable (value 1, 0 respectively); B.C. Indians Living Off Reserves, 1971

Independent Variables	equation 1			equation 2		
	coefficient	standard error	"t" statistic	coefficient	standard error	"t" statistic
Sex: male=1, female=0	-.0399	.0321	1.87	-.0683	.0322	2.12*
JOB INFO Score[a]	.0091	.0056	1.63	.0081	.0055	1.47
Union Member: yes=1, no=0	.1038	.0346	3.00*	.1061	.0345	3.08*
Indianess Index[b]	.0215	.0076	2.83*	.0204	.0075	2.72*
Number of Months Self Supporting in past 2.5 years	.0112	.0014	8.00*	.0113	.0014	8.07*
Education:						
0-11 grades completed	omitted level			omitted level		
12+	.1614	.0400	4.04*	.1580	.0399	3.96*
Marital Status: married=1 other=0	.0616	.0340	1.81	.0621	.0335	1.85
Job Situation for Self: "Good"=1, other=0	.2844	.0335	8.49*	.2947	.0335	8.79*
Job Situation for Natives: "Good"=1, other=0	-.0444	.0321	1.38	-.0467	.0321	1.45
Vocational Trades Training: yes=1, no=0	.0413	.0346	1.19	.0278	.0339	0.82
Economic Development Index[c]	.0078	.0028	2.79*	.0076	.0028	2.71*
Region:						
Lower Fraser Valley	.0968	.0746	1.30			
Vancouver	omitted level					
North Coast	.1651	.0469	3.52*			
North Interior	.0138	.0460	0.30			
South Interior	.0976	.0478	2.04*			
Vancouver Island	.0576	.0460	1.25			
Okanagan	.0415	.0604	0.69			
Age (in years)	-.0021	.0014	1.50	-.0020	.0014	1.43
Cultural/Linguistic Group:						
Interior				omitted level		
Coast Salish				.0947	.0532	1.78
Wakashan/Bella Coola				.0241	.0424	0.57
Carrier (Athapaskan)				-.0157	.0441	0.36
Tsimshian/Haida				.1021	.0433	2.36*
Other				.1437	.0781	1.84
Constant	-.0339			.0007		
	.456			.453		
	714			714		

*significant at the .05 level or beyond (.01 level=2.58 in 2 tail test)

The variable "Indianess Index" was created by summing across the values assigned to 13 variables which included home ownership on reserve, language spoken at large, at home, by the children at home and teaching children Indian language, number of yearly visits and days per visit to reserve, returning to reserve to live and months since lived on reserve for at least one month, Indian ceremonies attended in past year, telling children Indian folklore, reading Indian publications and also belonging to Indian clubs or organizations. Values of one were assigned to an affirmative response and zero to a negative or other response. Five or more yearly visits to reserve, 6 or more Indian ceremonies attended, 6 or more days per visit to reserve and 25 or more months away from living in reserve were each assigned values of one. Therefore the theoretical maximum would be 13 and the minimum zero. 13 per cent of the sample scored 7 points or more, 27 per cent scored 5 or 6 points, 38 per cent scored 3 or 4 points and 21 per cent scored 0 to 2 points.

"Economic Development Index" was created by summing across eight variables specified in dummy form i.e. "yes" answers were, given a value of one; "no" answers a value of zero. The variables included were life insurance policies, credit cards, bank account, read newspaper daily, own a T.V., own a portable radio, have telephone at home, own one or more cars/trucks. The range in the variable was from zero to eight, the mean was 3.6.

JOBINFO is the cumulative score of the respondent with respect to his knowledge of the following five labour market institutions or programs: Workmen's Compensation, Canada Manpower Centres, the Unemployment Insurance Commission, Indian Affairs Branch Vocational Training Grants and Indian Affairs Branch Job Placement Services. The question used was "What do you know about (Canada Manpower)?" Responses were rated on a three point scale by the interviewer. The questions on labour market institutions were interspersed with parallel questions on the B.C. Homeowner's Grant, the White Paper on Indian Policy, Indian Centres in various cities, the Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs and the income tax advisory service of the Indian Affairs Branch. If the respondent had never heard of the program or institution his reply was characterized as "no knowledge" and scored one point. If the individual had heard of the program etc. and had some idea of its purpose and functions the reply was coded as "some knowledge" and given a score of two points. Substantial knowledge of the program institution's functioning was characterized as "knowledgeable" and scored three points. Every respondent's score was then cumulated into a total score for all items combined. The range of the variable (JOBINFO) was from five to fifteen points. For the entire sample the mean JOBINFO score was 10.6 and the standard deviation was 3.2 points.

(employed/unemployed). Our results indicate that an individ in the labour force who has completed high school has, on average, holding the influence of other variables constant, a 16% higher probability of being employed as compared to those who have completed Grade 11 or less. In terms of the increased probability of getting a job, our equations indica that if the job situation is perceived as "good" for the individual, it increases the probability of being employed b 28%. We must recognize, however, that the direction of caus tion may be the reverse of what we have indicated, i.e. beca the individual has a job he perceives the job situation for himself as "good". The coefficient for the corresponding du variable for the perceived job situation for native people i general is small, negative but not statistically significant. We were surprised to find that having had vocational trades training did not significantly increase the probability of getting a job, although the coefficient was positive.

Being a union member increases the probability of being employed (as opposed to being unemployed) by 10%, and the coefficient is statistically significant. Again the directio of causation may be the opposite of what we have indicated, i.e. having a job may increase the probability of an individu being in a union. Each additional month that an individual h been self-supporting in the past two and one-half year period increases the probability of being currently employed by a little over 1%. The regression coefficient is highly signifi- cant. We interpret this to mean that persons who have experi- enced greater success in the labour market have a higher probability of currently being employed.

Females in the labour force have approximately a 6% high probability than males of being employed - but the coefficient is statistically significant only at the .06 level.

Our measure of cultural identity, Indianess Index is

positively associated with the probability of being employed. Each increase of one point on the thirteen point scale increases the probability of being employed by just over 2%. The coefficient is statistically significant. This is a most important result for it provides support for the proposition that an Indian needs not lose his identity as an Indian in order to be successful in the "white man's" labour market. In fact, a higher degree of cultural identity appears to increase the probability of success (obtaining a job) in the labour market.

Having a greater knowledge of labour market institutions and programs tended to increase the probability of being employed, but the coefficient was not statistically significant from zero even in a one-tail test. Being married, as opposed to all other marital statuses, increased the probability of being employed by about 6%. The coefficient was statistically significant only in a one-tail test at the .05 level. Age was negatively associated with the probability of being employed, but the coefficient was not significant.

Using Vancouver as the reference or "omitted" region in the regression, we found that in two regions, North Coast and South Interior, the probability of being employed was 16.5% and 9.8% higher respectively. We recall that Vancouver had one of the highest unemployment rates of all regions; it was exceeded only by the North Interior and the Okanagan. Holding all other variables in the regression equation constant, we do not find that in these regions the probability of being employed is less than that in Vancouver. In fact, the regression coefficients are positive, but not statistically significant.

In equation two, we substituted cultural/linguistic group for region and we found that only Tsimshian/Haida respondents had a significantly higher or lower probability of getting a job than Interior Salish respondents which was our reference

TABLE 2

Employed People by Occupational Group: B.C. Indians and All Canadians

Occupational Group	B.C. Indians Off Reserve Summer 1971[1] Male n=272	Female n=102	Total n=374	B.C. Indians Off Reserve 1971 (Pooled Data)[2] Male n=1182	Female n=464	Total n=1646	B.C. Non-Status Indians 1971 M + F n=706[3]	Canada 1971 M + F	Canada 1961 M + F	1961 Census Indians[4] M + F	B.C. Indians on Reserve 1954 M + F n=6000
Managerial/Professional/Technical	19.5%	16.7%	18.7%	9.1%	11.9%	9.9%	4.4%	23.9%	17.9%	3%	1.0%
Clerical/Sales	5.5	27.5	11.5	3.0	15.5	6.6	5.4	22.2	12.5	3	0.4
Service/Recreation	7.7	27.5	13.1	9.1	42.6	18.6	22.7	12.3	8.5	17	1.4
Transportation/ Communication	16.5	2.9	12.8	16.8	1.7	12.5	5.7	5.4	7.5	3	3.4
Primary (Fishing, Logging, Mining)	29.4	6.9	23.3	40.0	8.8	31.2	16.7	7.8	16.1	42	62.9
Production/Craftsmen	15.8	13.7	15.2	10.4	15.3	11.8	21.5	24.1	28.8	16	19.7
Labour/Unskilled	5.5	4.9	5.3	11.5	4.1	9.4	23.7*	4.3	6.2	12	9.2
Not stated	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.6	3	-
Total[5]	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

[1] Distribution by occupational group for those employed only.
[2] The survey data traced the individual's occupational history back at least two years, or four jobs, or until the date of school leaving. Consequently, the pooled data permit the same individual to be recorded in the same or different occupational group more than once.
[3] Includes those currently unemployed.
[4] Virtually all Indians recorded in the Census live on reserves.
[5] Totals may not add due to rounding.
* Includes "other," 4.5%.

Sources: Statistics Canada, *The Labour Force*, Feb. 1973, p. 22 (Cat. No. 71001); F.G. Vallee, *Indians and Eskimos of Canada*, Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1966); W. T. Stanbury, "Summary of Major Results, B.C. Association of Non-status Indians Survey, Summer 1971," University of B.C., 1972, (unpublished paper); and Statistics Canada, Census of Canada 1961. H.B. Hawthorn, C.S. Belshaw and S.M. Jamieson, The Indians of British Columbia, A Study of Contemporary Social Adjustment, Toronto, University of Toronto Press and University of British Columbia, 1960 (derived from Table VIII, pp. 75, 76).

for Canada. This is the reverse to the situation portrayed in the 1961 Census data.

The "pooled data", which counts the same person in different jobs over time, appear to indicate that the occupational distribution at the time of the interview was not closely representative of the usual occupations of urban Indians or that the movement up the occupational ladder has been rather recent. For example, of those employed in the summer of 1971, 19% had Managerial/Professional/Technical occupations, but over the previous few years only 10% of the jobs obtained by those in the survey were in the Managerial/Professional/Technical group. At the other end of the scale, 5.3% of those employed in the summer of 1971 were in the Labour/Unskilled occupational group while the proportion for the pooled data was 9.4%. Similarly, the pooled data indicate 31.2% of the jobs obtained in the two to three year period prior to the survey were in the Primary group but the proportion during the survey in the summer of 1971 was 23.3%. No doubt a good part of the apparent upward occupational mobility is due to the movement of young, more highly educated Indians into the labour market.

From the data in Table 2 it seems clear that B.C. status Indians living off reserves have more closely approached the occupational distribution of all employed Canadians than have non-status Indians living in B.C. Data for the summer of 1971 indicate that only 10% of the non-status labour force is in white collar occupations as compared to 30% for the off reserve status Indians. At the other end of the spectrum, 23.7% of the non-status labour force was in the Labour/Unskilled group as compared to 5.3% for the off-reserve "status" or "registered" Indians. Substantially higher proportions of the non-status labour force were in the Service/Recreation and Production/Craftsmen occupational groups in comparison to the status off-reserve sample. Despite the fact that a significantly higher proportion of the non-status sample was obtained from north of

Prince George, only 16.7% of the non-status labour force was in the broad Primary occupational group. This was almost seven percentage points less than the status off-reserve sample.

II. Occupation, Income and Education

The highest paying occupational groups for B.C. Indians living off reserves were the Primary group in which 47% reported monthly incomes in excess of $600, Transportation/Communication where the proportion was 36% and Production/Craftsmen where 34% of the jobs paid more than $600 per month. Yet persons in these three occupational groups were among the lowest in educational attainment. Only 10% of individuals holding Primary jobs, 14% of those in Transportation/Communication and 23% of those in Production/Craftsmen occupations had completed high school. While 59% of persons holding Managerial/Professional/Technical positions completed Grade 12 or better, only 27% earned more than $600 per month. Some 69% of persons in Clerical/Sales occupations graduated from high school but only 6% earned more than $600 per month and two-thirds earned less than $400 per month. Individuals holding jobs in Service/Recreation occupations have approximately the same level of education as those in the Labour category, yet 18% of the latter had monthly incomes over $600 compared to only 10% of the former. In fact over one-quarter of those in Service/Recreation occupations had incomes under $200 per month as compared to one-ninth of those in Labour occupations.

Given such data, the lure of higher education to obtain white collar jobs can hardly be economically attractive to Indian people. A more detailed examination reveals that the Indians in the two white collar occupational groups are relatively young, hence have less experience and are situated in the lower rungs of such occupations, e.g., there were no doctors or senior business executives in our sample of B.C. Indians living off reserves.

This pessimism about the monetary value of additional education to Indians - at least under existing circumstances - is borne out in

linear regression equation summarized in Table 3.

Because of the extensive use of "dummy" variables (those having the value of zero or one only) in the regression, it is important to note that the coefficients of such variables must be interpreted as being the difference in the value of the dependent variable between the level for which the coefficient is presented and the level of the variable omitted from the set of dummy variables specified in the equation.[19] Therefore the coefficient of "Mgr./Prof./Tech." -47.50 should be interpreted to mean that the monthly income of persons in this occupational group is about $48 below those in Primary occupations (the omitted variable) given all the other variables in the equation. Our particular interest in the regression is the size and direction of the coefficient for the Education variable. The coefficient indicates that high school graduation adds $41 to an employed person's monthly income, ceteris paribus. The coefficient is not statistically significant at the .05 level, and accounts for only 0.3% of the total variance "explained" by all the independent variables combined. In comparison, being a male explains 16.5% of the total variance or 45% of the variance "explained" by the independent variables. Ceteris paribus males earn $169 per month more than females. Being a union member appears to be worth an additional $155 per month and this coefficient is statistically significant beyond the .01 level. However, causality is difficult to impute as membership in the union frequently follows once a job is obtained with the employer. The proportion of employed Indians in unions is relatively high.[20] Union membership accounted for over one-quarter of the total variance "explained".

We estimate that an additional year of experience on the job under consideration was worth an additional $17 in monthly income. Additional years of age on the other hand are negatively correlated with income, ceteris paribus, but the coefficient is not significantly different from zero. A job market environment that is perceived as "good" for the individual himself is associated with an additional $96 per month in employment income. While the coefficient is both

TABLE 3

Multiple Linear Regression: Monthly Earnings (in $) of those Employed as Dependent Variable: B.C. Indians Living Off Reserves, 1971

Independent Variables	Coefficient	Standard Error	"t" Statistic
Constant = 300.107			
Sex (male=1, female =0)	168.538	32.536	5.18*
Union member? (yes=1, no=0)	154.744	27.341	5.65*
Months on the job	1.386	0.285	4.86*
Education (grade 11 or less =0, grade 12+=1)	41.442	32.901	1.26
Age (in years)	-1.836	1.444	1.27
Vocational training--one or more trades courses, yes=1, no=0	3.231	28.193	0.11
Perceived job situation for self ("good"=1, "unfavourable"=0)	96.012	28.031	3.43*
Occupational Group:			
Managerial/Professional/ Technical	-47.503	46.483	1.02
Clerical/Sales	-81.592	56.493	1.44
Service/Recreation	-82.806	46.944	1.76†
Transportation/Communication	-41.860	44.162	0.95
Primary	omitted level in equation		
Production/Craftsmen	29.331	43.043	0.68
Labour	-120.649	60.249	2.00†

Number of observations = 384.

$\bar{R}^2 = 0.367$

* Statistically significant at 0.01 level or beyond.
† Statistically significant at 0.05 level or beyond.

large and statistically significant at the .01 level, this variable accounts for less than 7% of the variance "explained".

Ceteris paribus, persons in Clerical/Sales, Labour, and Service/Recreation occupations earn an average of $82, $121 and $83 less than those in Primary occupations. Only the last two differences were statistically significant - see Table 3. Indians in Production/Craftsmen occupations earned "an average of $29 per month more than those in the Primary occupations but the difference was not statistically significant.

Methods of Finding Jobs

Economists are rightly accused of having a preoccupation with comparative statics analysis. Our knowledge of how labour markets function can be considerably aided if we understand the process of adjustment between equilibrium states.[21] In this section we shall examine how Indians and non-Indians obtain jobs. We shall try to answer such questions as "How important are government agencies in the process of matching the supply of labour to the demand for it?" In addition, we shall examine the extent to which the methods used by Indians, a minority group characterized by significant differences in colour, education, labour market skills and culture, are different than those used by all Canadians.

By far the most heavily employed successful method of finding a job by Indians and non-Indians is that of direct application to the employer.[22] This method was used in a total of 40% of cases by all Canadians, in 48% of cases by B.C. Indians living off reserves and by 80% of the sample of B.C. non-status Indians. Yet the phrase we employ in Table 4 "Direct Hiring by Employer" is difficult to interpret. It raises the question "How did the individual first become aware of the job opening?" Did he hear of the opening from friends, by going to the plant purely on speculation or did he simply leave an application at a number of possible employers and one such application resulted in a job? These questions are particularly pertinent, in the case of the data derived from the survey

TABLE 4

Method of Finding Jobs by Occupational Group: B.C. Indians Living Off Reserves, 1971 and Total Canadian Labour Force, 1968

		Mgr/Prof./ Technical	Clerical/ Sales	Service[5]/ Recreation	Trans./ Comm.	Primary	Prodn./ Crafts.	Labour	Total	B.C.[6] Non-Status Indians
Direct hiring by employer[1]	Can.[3]	30.8%	29.5%	29.2%	46.9%	67.1%	44.0%	46.8%	39.9%	n=723
	Ind.[4]	44.6%	25.8%	44.4%	63.4%	51.2%	52.9%	37.8%	48.3%	79.9%
Friends & relatives[2]	Can.	16.9	23.1	28.6	20.4	19.2	24.4	31.5	24.3	n=116
	Ind.	20.1	18.6	31.0	23.1	31.2	25.5	35.1	27.4	12.8%
Canada Manpower Centre	Can.	8.6	19.0	15.8	14.6	10.4	14.9	14.5	15.1	n= 25
	Ind.	0.7	13.4	7.9	7.0	10.4	5.9	7.2	7.9	2.8%
Dept. of Ind. Affairs & N. Development	Ind.	7.9	20.6	5.2	1.6	1.9	2.9	5.4	4.8	n.a.
Newspaper advt.	Can.	11.6	19.3	16.5	9.9	1.7	3.7	1.6	9.3	n= 7
	Ind.	7.2	8.2	4.8	1.1	1.2	1.2	3.6	3.1	0.8%
Private employment agencies	Can.	22.1	3.7	2.0	3.5	1.2	1.1	1.4	3.0	n= 0
	Ind.	-	2.1	0.8	1.6	1.9	0.6	0.9	1.2	-
Other (incl. union, letters)[7]	Can.	9.9	5.3	7.9	4.7	0.4	11.9	4.1	7.8	n= 34
	Ind.	19.4	11.3	6.0	2.2	2.2	12.9	9.9	7.2	3.8%
Total %	Can., Ind.	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
n	Ind.	139	97	252	186	414	170	111	1,369	

[1] For Indians this category includes "asked by employer."
[2] For Indians this category includes "own business," "hired by friend," and "previous employer."
[3] Successful methods used by people unemployed for five or more weeks in 1967. Survey was performed in January, 1968.
[4] Pooled data of successful methods used to obtain current job (summer 1971) and previous jobs of B.C. Indians living off reserves.
[5] Service jobs only given in the unpublished Canadian sample.
[6] Responses to question "How did you get your present/last job?"
[7] For Indians this category includes "school," "social welfare worker," and "parole officer" as well as "union."

Sources: The author's survey; the Canadian data were derived from unpublished data kindly provided by Dr. Dennis R. Maki of Simon Fraser University. The data are from a special survey (n=3,800) conducted in January 1968 by Statistics Canada; and W. T. Stanbury, "Summary of Results, B.C. Association of Non-status Indians Survey Summer 1971," University of B.C., 1972 (unpublished paper), p. 17.

of non-status Indians in B.C.

Despite the massive expansion of expenditures on the public employment services, the informal method of finding a job through "Friends and Relatives" still accounts for 24.3% of jobs obtained by all Canadians and 27.4% for our sample of B.C. Indians living off reserves. For B.C. non-status Indians, only one job in eight is found through friends and relatives. Again we raise the question "What proportion of the direct applications to the employer were the result of a tip from friends and relatives?" If we are to understand the operation of labour market questions like this one need to be answered by more micro research.

Fifteen percent of the Canadian sample obtained their jobs through Canada Manpower - this proportion is twice as great as that for B.C. Indians. Even if we add the proportion who obtained jobs through the employment service operated by the Indian Affairs Branch, only 12.7% of the jobs obtained by Indians were obtained through government agencies. Proportionately, twice the number of jobs were obtained through "Friends and Relatives". Only 2.8% of the sample of non-status Indians cite Manpower as the method by which they obtained either their present or their previous job. Yet one-half of those responding to this question indicated that they had been to a Canada Manpower Centre in B.C.[23]

Newspaper advertisements were responsible for only 3.1% of the jobs obtained by Indians, compared to 9.3% by all Canadians. Less than one percent of the non-status Indian respondents found a job using this method. Private employment agencies were hardly used at all by Indians, with only 1.2% of jobs so obtained. For the total Canadian sample, such advertisements accounted for 3.6% of jobs obtained. "Other" methods including unions, school, welfare and parole officers accounted for 7.2% of the B.C. Indians' successful job matches compared to 7.8% for all Canadians. Just over one-half of the jobs found in the "Other" category by the total Canadian sample were found through the union and two-fifths were found through letters of application. Out of a total of 1369 successful

job matches recorded in the sample of B.C. Indians, not one was the result of a letter of application. In the Canadian sample, these methods were very much concentrated by occupation. Some 10% of the Canadian sample in Production/Craftsmen occupations found their job through the union; in all other occupations the number was not one-quarter as large. Similarly, the successful use of letters of application was confined to Managerial/Professional/Technical (8.4%), Clerical/Sales (4.3%) and Service occupations (4.2%).

We found evidence in the data from the survey of B.C. Indians living off reserves which suggests that the successful methods of finding a job are serially correlated. For those persons for whom we recorded two or more jobs and for whom the method of finding the previous job is also known, we found that in 48% of the 611 observations recorded, the successful method of finding the current job was the same as it was in finding the previous job.

Implications for Manpower Policy

(i) Native people (status and non-status Indians) currently comprise five percent of the B.C. population and their rate of natural increase is well over twice that of the "white" population. The first point for manpower policy makers to recognize is that they cannot ignore this segment of the population. This discussion has been limited to urban Indians in B.C. Both the federal and provincial governments must recognize that our knowledge of native peoples (status and non-status) in the labour market is extremely limited and can only be remedied by comprehensive research studies. We must get beyond the stage that an article on unemployment among native people in Canada can be written without the benefit of empirical research.[24]

(ii) The constancy of the absolute size of the on-reserve Indian population in B.C. over the past decade and the growth throughout Canada of the proportion of status Indians living off reserve points toward the growing urbanization of the native population. The 1971 Census revealed that the twelve cities with more than 1000 native residents had a total native population of 29,910. In 1961 the same cities had a total native population of 7677.[25]

For the most part, the reserves are rural slums. Throughout 1972/73 an average of one-half of the on-reserve population in Canada was dependent upon social assistance. In B.C., the proportion was 37.5%.[26] As we have seen from our own sample, the single most important reason for B.C. Indians living off reserve was to obtain employment.

Therefore, it is reasonable to predict that an increasing number of native people will be coming to our urban centres seeking job opportunities. Because of the age distribution of the native population, each person in the 15 to 64 age range has proportionately twice as many young mouths to feed as do non-Indians.[27] The economic success or failure of the native population is dependent upon a much smaller proportion of the total population than is the case for "whites". If our B.C. data is at all representative, this is not due to lower labour force participation rates, but to large families.

(iii) The rising tide of young native people entering urban labour markets are substantially better educated than their parents and grandparents. Yet, despite the rise in the level of schooling and the prevalence of vocational training, we found that additional years of schooling and the presence of vocational courses did not significantly increase current earnings when the effects of other variables were held constant. Similarly, increased education did not increase the number of months the individual had been self-supporting, although high school graduates did have a significantly higher probability of being employed. The crucial point here

is that virtually all our observations were in the range of zero to thirteen grades completed. It is not surprising that those with grade ten are no more economically successful than those who had completed grades eight or nine. The literature on the economics of human capital indicates that the rate of return on a university education exceeds that of a high school education. To move into the more skilled tradesmen's jobs and into the better white collar jobs where incomes are higher and more stable, more Indians will have to graduate from high school and obtain a university education.

The point that manpower policy makers must keep in mind is that they can't rely on the observed increases in the average level of education of native people to assure that they will find satisfactory employment in the urban labour market. The unemployment rate for high school graduates in our off reserve sample was over twice the average for the total B.C. population in the summer of 1971. In terms of their ability to be self-supporting, we found that 28% of the sample had not been self-supporting in even one month of the thirty month period prior to the interview, although 24% had been self-supporting throughout the entire period.

(iv) If we define success in the labour market as the ability to stay above the poverty line in terms of income from employment, then 68% of individuals and families in our sample of off reserve Indians in 1970 were failures. Failure in the labour market is not assuaged by our panoply social assistance programs. After payments from these had been taken into account, 68% of our sample were still below the poverty line. Quite simply: income support programs are no substitute for employment in the labour market - even if such employment is at the minimum wage rate.

(v) Official statistics measuring the unemployment and labour force participation rates significantly understate the "true" rates because of "discouraged workers" who are not recorded as being in the labour force. The group that concerns us

are those workers who are without work, but who are not looking for work because they believe no suitable work is available in the community. While the formal definitions used in the Monthly Labour Force Survey provide that such individuals are to be counted as unemployed, we are virtually certain they are excluded from the labour force because they must volunteer this information. Since "problems" are identified by the use of the official statistics, the plight of native peoples is not made apparent by the official statistic

Because native peoples are such a small (but growing) proportion of the labour force, current monthly surveys do not identify them. We recommend that special surveys be carried out (at least annually) to estimate accurately the unemployment and participation rates of native and other disadvantaged groups. What we may find could be likened to the "iceberg phenomenon".

(vi) In terms of successful methods of finding jobs, our data indicate that native people make relatively more use of direct application to the employer and relatively less use of Canada Manpower than does the general population. While 15.1% of the jobs in the Canada-wide survey were obtained from Manpower, only 7.9% of the successful matches for B.C. Indians were made this way. However, leads provided by the Indian Affairs Branch resulted in another 4.8% of jobs obtained. To some extent, the limited, primarily informal, service provided by Indian Affairs may be a substitute for Manpower in the public employment service field. In any event, it seems clear that Indians perceive that they get a job by contacting potential employers directly. But as Sheppard and Belitisky, in their book The Job Hunt, point out "the crucial question is not how many workers used this or that source in their search for new jobs ... nor even the sources of job leads for workers who do find new employment; the crucial question is how effective is each source as measured by the degree of success achieved in obtaining new jobs."[28]

On the basis of a small sample study, David W. Stevens suggests that public employment agencies may be more effective job finders than survey data would suggest.[29] What we need is a more detailed micro study of the behaviour of Indian job seekers. What information do they have? And what do they act upon? We should have answers to these and related questions before we establish a special Indian employment service as was done in the United States with the American Indian Employment Service.[30]

(vii) Manpower programs (e.g., job training and information programs) must reckon with such facts as the poor health of Indian people, the fact that they appear to be more mobile (both inter city and intra city) and, more importantly, that they possess a set of cultural values which are significantly different than those of the "white", urban, industrialized society. To some extent, urbanization and the industrial market economy pose a threat to the security and status system of the native culture. Family and kinship ties may have to be broken to obtain training and the best economic opportunities the labour market has to offer. In the industrialized economy, reliance on the market replaces the mutual support system characterized by casual employment, reciprocal family obligations and the integration of "economic" activities with religious and social customs. The urban industrial society requires work rhythms structured by the clock rather than body, seasonal and cultural rhythms. Intrinsic job interests are often vastly different as are the criteria by which status and prestige are determined in the two cultures. Because of the importance of kinship ties, vocational training or mobility programs - which do not have provisions to keep the family unit together - are almost certainly doomed to failure. Conventional manpower programs by themselves will not ensure an easy transition from the reserve culture to the urban market economy. When we asked the members of the off-reserve sample "What could Indian Affairs do to prepare people who want to live off reserves?" a significant proportion of the

replies we categorized as "counselling, advice and preparation for urban life". This category includes a wide range of concerns as the following direct quotations indicate:

> "They should have a program to teach the life style of off-reserve living".
>
> "Programs to keep them aware of problems of living off reserve. High cost of living".
>
> "Tell them they won't have so many friends or family around; a place like Vancouver is so different".
>
> "Tell them the conditions of city living".
>
> "Probably information's the best thing. Tell them exactly what to expect when they are on their own".
>
> "People should know how to get along with those in the community (whites)".
>
> "They should have workshops or an orientation program to acquaint people with problems of urban life, things like water taxes, land taxes, garbage collection costs...."
>
> "I think they should have a program to prepare people to live in cities. So many of them are not aware of what is available".
>
> "They (Indian Affairs) never give anyone any information. People just don't know about things in the city".
>
> "Teach them how to get along with white people".
>
> "Help Indian people to adjust to the different value system".
>
> "Must have an objective in order to move off reserve. Should have a goal".

Either manpower programs for native people must become much more comprehensive or they must be closely integrated with the efforts of other Federal or Provincial departments. Simply increasing the number of Indians in current manpower programs will have an effect like that of a band-aid on a major wound.

(viii) More generally, public policy toward native people must move from a motivation based on a peculiar combination of condescension, guilt over historical wrongs and a strict interpretation of the Indian Act, to one motivated by the desire

to enlarge the social and economic opportunities of all of Canada's disadvantaged citizens. Policies would be based on the recognition that it makes good sense (both morally and economically) to invest in human beings. In doing so we are cognizant that "(i)n the final analysis, successful adjustment of Indians to the expanding economy must depend on the personality and motivations of the Indians themselves. They cannot be pushed into the urban labour market. They must want to enter it enough to accept the work habits and responsibilities imposed by the urban economy in return for the tangible rewards that it offers".[31]

Footnotes

1. By "status" or "registered" Indians we mean those persons who are defined to be Indians under the Indian Act. In January 1974 there were 51,000 status Indians in B.C., one-third of whom did not reside on a reserve.

2. This section is drawn from W.T. Stanbury, assisted by Jay H. Siegel, Success and Failure: Indians in Urban Society, Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1975, Chapter IV.

3. The B.C. Association of Non-Status Indians considers a non-status Indian to be a person who is genetically and culturally an Indian but who is not on a federal band list. Membership in the Association is open to anyone with one-quarter or more Indian blood who is not a registered Indian.

4. See Success and Failure... Chapter II.

5. The sample consisted of 601 men and 494 women who had lived off reserve for at least one month. Seventy-eight percent of the sample had not lived on a reserve for more than one year. A total of fifty-four towns were represented in the survey (in addition to those travelling (n=4) and in prison (n=61). Seven of the 54 towns consisted of two separate municipalities combined for the purpose of the survey. Five towns (excluding prison) supplied 40 or more respondents: Vancouver (266), Victoria (41), Port Alberni (47), Prince Rupert (108) and Prince George (62). A total of 10 towns supplied from 20 to 39 respondents, nine towns accounted for from 10 to 19 respondents each, 10 towns provided from 5 to 9 respondents each and a total of 20 towns were represented by from 1 to 4 respondents.

   By size of town, 16% of the non-prison sample resided in towns of less than 2500 population, 18% in towns of population 2500 to 9,999, 23% lived in towns of 10,000 to 24,999 persons, 13% resided in towns of 25,000 to 99,999 population and 24% of the sample lived in Vancouver (100,000 and over).

   The age distribution of our sample was very close to that of the total off reserve population:

age	16-19	12%
	20-29	42
	30-39	23
	40-49	13
	50 and over	10

   Note that over one-half of the sample was under 30 years of age and less than one-quarter was age 40 or greater.

   With respect to marital status, 36.7% of the persons interviewed were single and 36.5% were married. Some 8.5% indicated they were living in a common law relationship. Additional details can be found in Chapter I, "Methodology and Characteristics of the Sample" of Success and Failure: Indians in Urban Society.

6. See Success and Failure... Chapter III.

7. See Success and Failure... Chapter V.

8. See Success and Failure... Chapter VI.

9. See Success and Failure... Chapter IX.

.0. The term "inactive seekers" is used in Sylvia Ostry and Mahmood A. Zaidi, Labour Economics in Canada, Toronto, Macmillan, 1972, p. 9

.1. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, The Labour Force, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1965, p. 3.

.2. Ostry and Zaidi, op. cit., p. 9.

.3. Stephen G. Peitchinis, Canadian Labour Economics, Toronto, McGraw Hill, 1970, p. 238 (italics in the original). See also the comment by Stuart Jamieson in H.B. Hawthorn (ed.), A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada, Ottawa, Indian Affairs Branch, 1966, Part I, p. 46, footnote 1.

.4. We are indebted to Mr. S.L. Young, Regional Economist, Manpower Information and Analysis Branch, Department of Manpower and Immigration, Pacific Region, Vancouver, for the total B.C. data.

.5. See W.T. Stanbury, "Summary of Major Results of B.C. Association of Non-Status Indians Survey, Summer 1971", Vancouver, Faculty of Commerce and Business Administration, University of B.C., 1972 (unpublished paper).

From our examination of the questionnaire employed, it appears that no distinction was made between persons without work and seeking work and those without work but not seeking work. Hence the results reported here should be compared to U1 and P1. There were some differences in the characteristics of the two samples. For example, only 41% of the non-status respondents were male and 31% of the sample was drawn from the Far North Region (Chetwynd, Dawson Creek, Ft. Nelson, Ft. St. John and Kelly Lake). This region was not included in our survey of status Indians. Some 1309 persons were included in the sample.

.6. See F.J. Whittingham, Educational Attainment of the Canadian Population and Labour Force, 1960-65, Special Labour Force Studies No. 1, Ottawa, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1966 and John D. Allingham, Women Who Work: Part I, The Relative Importance of Age, Education and Marital Status for Participation in the Labour Force, Special Labour Force Studies No. 5, Ottawa, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1967.

. This was done because the overlap between the geographical location of bands grouped by cultural/linguistic group and the regions into which we grouped the towns in which we conducted interviews.

18. H.B. Hawthorn, C.S. Belshaw and S.M. Jamieson, The Indians of British Columbia, A Study of Contemporary Social Adjustment, Toronto, University of Toronto Press and University of British Columbia, 1960, p. 72.

19. See Dennis R. Maki, Search Behaviour in Canadian Job Markets, Special Study No. 15, Economic Council of Canada, Ottawa, Information Canada, 1972, Appendix B.

20. The percentage of employed Indians by occupational group who were union members in the summer of 1971 is as follows:

Managerial/Professional/Technical	38%
Clerical/Sales	27%
Service/Recreation	26%
Transportation/Commerce	67%
Primary	56%
Production/Crafts	59%
Labour	38%

Among the unemployed only 15% were union members. Using the broad definition of the labour force (including "discouraged workers") we found that 32% of the Indian labour force were in unions. Using the narrow definition the percentage is 40%. In 1971 about 42% of the total B.C. labour force were members of unions.

21. Some contributions along these lines are:
Economic Council of Canada, Eighth Annual Review, Ottawa, Information Canada, 1971, Ch. 8, Canadian Job Markets", Dennis R. Maki, Search Behaviour in Canadian Job Markets, Special Study No. 15, Economic Council of Canada, Ottawa, Information Canada, 1972, Noah M. Meltz, Study of Labour Market Information Systems: The Final Report, Ottawa, Department of Manpower and Immigration, June 1968. S. Ostry and A. Sunter, "Definitional and Design Aspects of the Canadian Job Vacancy Survey", Journal of the American Statistical Association, September 1970, pp. 1059-1070. Jean Edmonds, "The Canadian Job Vacancy Survey: Its Development, Methodology, and Application", Canada Manpower Review, Vol. 6, No. 4, 4th Quarter 1973, pp. 5-13.

22. A study of unemployed workers in the U.S. in 1971, which recorded the various methods used in seeking work (rather than the method that was successful in particular instances) found that 71.6% of job seekers applied directly to employers, 30.8% used public employment agencies, 25.7% placed or answered newspaper advertisements, 15.2% made inquiries of friends or relatives, 9.7% use private employment agencies and 6.7% used other methods. The average number of methods used was 1.60. See Thomas F. Bradshaw, "Job Seeking Methods Used by Unemployed Workers", Monthly Labour Review, Vol. 96, No. 1, pp. 35-40.

23. W.T. Stanbury, "Summary of Major Results, B.C. Association of Non-Status Indians Survey, Summer 1971", op. cit., p. 19.

4. e.g. Pat Kerwin, "Unemployment Among Native People in Canada", Canadian Labour, Vol. 17, January 1972, pp. 4, 5, 16. There is some research on Indians living off reserves and parts of it relate to Indians in urban labour markets, e.g. Mark Nagler, Indians in the City: A Study of the Urbanization of Indians in Toronto, Ottawa, Saint Paul University, 1970; W.E. Bolk and J.K. Boel, "The People of Indian Ancestry in Greater Winnipeg", Appendix I of Jean H. Lagassé (ed.), A Study of the Population of Indian Ancestry Living in Manitoba, Winnipeg Department of Agriculture and Immigration, 1959, Vol. II; Arthur K. Davis, "Edging into Mainstream: Urban Indians in Saskatchewan" in Davis, French, Knill and Zentner (eds.), A Northern Dilemma: Reference Papers, Vol. II, Bellingham, Washington, Western Washington State College, 1965; J.D. Pranson, "Employment Experience and Economic Position of a Selected Group of Indians in Toronto", unpublished MSW Thesis, University of Toronto, 1964.

5. Statistics Canada, Perspective Canada: A Compendium of Social Statistics, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1974, p. 244. However, the 1971 Census also revealed that 69.3% of the Indian population lived in rural (farm and non-farm) regions, compared with only 23.9% of the total population, ibid., p. 243.

6. See Success and Failure, Chapter IX.

7. Statistics Canada, Perspective Canada, pp. 12, 246.

8. Harold Sheppard and A. Harvey Belitsky, The Job Hunt, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1966, p. 93.

9. David W. Stevens, "Job Search Techniques: A New Index of Effectiveness", Quarterly Review of Economics and Business, Vol. 12, No. 2, Summer 1972, p. 101.

10. Richard G. Woods and Arthur M. Harkins, Indian Employment in Minneapolis, Training Center for Community Programs, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota, 1968.

11. Hawthorn, Belshaw and Jamieson, op. cit., p. 169.

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